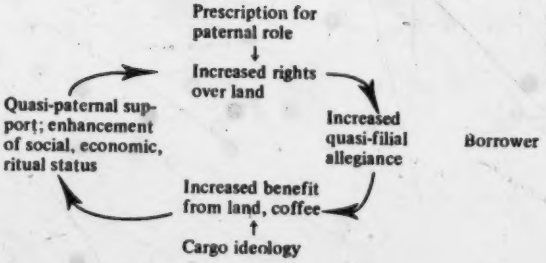
MODEL 17



The argument of the Tandai'undi and other owners of coffee-producing land is that the production of coffee gives the occupiers increased rights over land so that they owe an increased quasi-filial allegiance which must be expressed in increased prestations. These may take the form of substantial gifts, a share of the crop, etc. The benefit the owners seek to obtain from the land is nearly always money.

It may seem far-fetched that my model shows 'cargo ideology' as the 'mythological charter' for this desire for money. It may even be argued that the desire for money requires no ideological explanation. Without entering upon this larger question, I would directly relate the significance given to money in Orokaiva ideology to what has been said in the previous chapter about Jesus Christ as a *dema* figure. It is He who is credited with the introduction of money into the world and this is regarded as perhaps His greatest blessing. Hence the pursuit of money is not despised by Orokaiva nor even viewed as morally neutral: to acquire money is to give evidence of having followed the precepts of the *dema*. If the mysteries of the *dema* were more fully revealed to the Orokaiva, they believe they would acquire a great deal more money.[4]

I would argue that the Orokaiva regard the coffee industry as a premonition of greater wealth and power that may later come as the result of the return of the ancestors. Until the coffee industry started, Orokaiva could earn money only by leaving their villages to work for white men. Suddenly it became possible to obtain equivalent amounts from the products of village soil. What stirred the imagination was that a man could go to his garden, pick the coffee and then, after a not too demanding ritual of processing, pour it into a bag and obtain money for it. This was not classified as work but as a kind of magic. *Work* (the Pidgin English word) referred exclusively to paid labour done for an employer. *Pure* referred more specifically to the traditional gardens. *Kapi* (coffee) was what one might compare to a 'money tree': it was the source of the benefits which enabled a village family to share in the 'new day'.

From the cases I observed at Mumuni and Sivepe I gathered that some modest proportion of the proceeds of the coffee garden (like a tithe) would not satisfy the owners of the land upon which coffee was grown by useholders. They seemed to want all, or nearly all, the cash that could be gathered from the bushes. It was because their claims were immoderate that I began to think of the influence of cargo ideology.

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add lustre to a feast or to economise on domestic pig. Informants told me that for most ceremonial purposes, wild and domestic pig are interchangeable. In general, therefore, one may say that pigs are reared in order to provide a bigger and more dependable supply of pork. I was unable to discover any instance of a rule requiring *only* wild pig to be used for any kind of ceremony and declaring domesticated pig to be unsuitable. On the other hand certain ceremonial gifts of pigs are made between affines, where a rule stipulates that the pig *must* have been reared by a particular person – the bridegroom's sister or the bride's mother. Such instances have to be carefully studied, as they indicate that the value of the meat transferred in the transaction may sometimes be derived partly from the labour expended by particular persons who reared the animals.

We have already pointed out that some rudimentary sacrificial notions enter into a hunter's action towards his quarry, but it is only the killing of domestic pigs that can be described as *sacrifice* in the full conventional sense of the term. Williams (1930: 61) applies this term to the slaughter of pigs but provides no analysis of the sacrificial process. Such analysis is not altogether straightforward, as the anthropological study of sacrifice has hitherto remained confined to the application of two models: one derived from Robertson Smith after the analogy of Christian *communion*, and the other derived from Mauss, (1968: 193–307) whose chief inspiration seems to have been the doctrine of *piaculum* among the Brāhmanas (viz. Mauss 1968: 352–4). The wide applicability of Robertson Smith's model has recently been well argued by Stanner (1960–3) and Bellah (1964), while Mauss' model has been enshrined by such brilliant ethnographic applications as Evans-Pritchard's study of *Nuer Religion* (1956).

These two models have a great deal in common, but differ in final destination of the victim and the postulated aim of the sacrifice. As Evans-Pritchard has pointed out (1956: 275), the aim may be to keep the god away or get rid of him (as in Nuer piacular sacrifice), or to establish union or fellowship with him (as in Christian communion, and in Australian *intichiuma*).

Neither model appears to be very appropriate to Orokaiva sacrifice, as it is not clear at all just who the god is to whom the sacrifice is being made. The only divine agency that seems to appear in pig sacrifices, including the major feasts, are spirits, loosely described as belonging to the 'ancestors'. These do not appear to be specific personalised ancestors but seem to be identified with the demigod, or *dema* who instituted the feast, as well as with other *dema* who introduced the various products used at the feast as gifts, ornaments and the like, as well as with clan and lineage ancestors who are responsible for the well-being of the land. A big feast seems to involve the whole pantheon. If this were all, one could classify Orokaiva sacrifice as aiming definitely at communion, as the ritual preceding the feast and during the feast quite clearly has the effect of drawing the divine beings down into the village, and making them enter the persons of the celebrants who behave as though they are possessed by these spirits.

But in addition one must often regard the sacrifices as being made, in a very real sense, to the guests. There are of course pig sacrifices where communion with the god is the only or predominant purpose. For instance, it is customary to sacrifice a pig when new taro fields are prepared for planting and the flesh is shared between the men of the local clan group. Here the purpose is no doubt to bring about an identification of the men with the original ancestor who first

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574 successfully cultivated that land, and at the same time no doubt with *dema*
782 figures who instituted agriculture. But most sacrifices have to do with social
431 relations that are either being entered into or that are being restored after a
437 period of hostility. In all such cases the sacrificed pig serves as a gift object to
[572] the persons whose friendship is being sought. These persons may be clansmen, uterine kin, affines, bond-friends, trading partners, or persons who have rendered important ritual services.

578 An exhaustive list of examples of such sacrifices, very often involving only
431 one pig and a rather minor ceremony, cannot be given. If a person has broken
571 off social relations with a close relative in anger, by showing this relative his
825 plant emblem, then relations can be restored only if the angry man is persuaded
[824] to 'throw his plant emblem away'. If he does this, the person to whom the plant emblem has been shown will sacrifice a pig. Again, if a man feels that he has neglected a fellow clansman for an unduly long time, he will end the estrangement by offering up a pig. A pig may be sacrificed to mark any reconciliation after a quarrel. The sacrificer in such a case appears to admit his
[754] own guilt and to restore a wrong done to the other person. Very often such a reconciliation follows a misfortune attributed to sorcery. The medicine man will determine, if the sufferer does not already know, who has caused the sorcery to be performed. It is then considered highly important to arrange a reconciliation with the person responsible for the sorcery. This person is not infrequently a close relative, such as a father's sister or mother's sister. The sufferer will offer up a pig if the dangerous relative is willing to forgive and forget. Sacrifices are also required when a person has violated a taboo, e.g. quarrelled in the presence of a cross-cousin or affine. In all such cases a feast will be held at which the wronged person receives the sacrificial beast.

The same pattern may be found in the larger ceremonies. I shall show in a later chapter that the various prestations rendered between affines can be viewed as propitiatory gifts made to allay anger at the wrong done by the other party. This is certainly true for the gifts made on various occasions by the husband, the
628 husband's sister, etc. to the wife's relatives. Feasts given on the occasion of
728 peace-making, or on other occasions where whole villages are invited can likewise
574 be shown to have as their prime purpose the ending of strife. In all such cases the sacrifice of pigs is preliminary to their utilisation for the mediation of social exchange.

This pattern does not appear quite consistent with the communion model of sacrifice. Not only is there no rule that the offerers of the sacrifice should eat of the victim; on the contrary, we shall see that they are strictly forbidden to eat of it. The guests carry all the meat away with them and distribute it among their own group. One almost feels that the expiatory model might be applicable: the offerers of the sacrifice define themselves as offenders, they expiate their wrong-doing by sacrifice, the flesh of the victim becomes taboo to them.

782 The contradiction disappears if we regard communion with the god not
571 purely as the ultimate end of sacrifice but also (and simultaneously) as the
574 means to the mediation of a social relationship. I am suggesting that the
431 Orokaiva believe that the killing and offering of a pig is not *in itself* sufficient to initiate or restore a social relationship: it is also necessary to make the offering in a properly ritual manner. The ritual involves the establishment of communion

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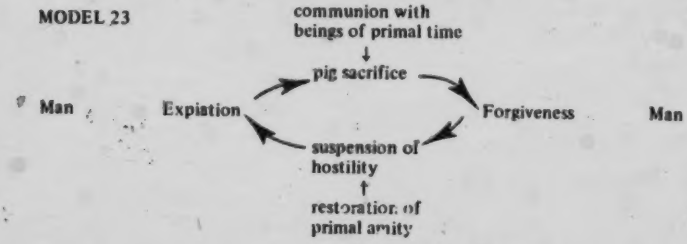
with divine beings. One might say with equal truth that the purpose of communion is expiation and that the purpose of expiation is communion. The transaction may be expressed in the following diagram:

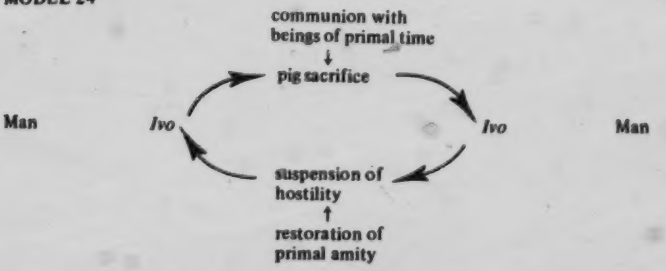
MODEL 23



In this model the object of exchange is clearly expiation. Expiation is mediated by a ritual feast through which all participants identify themselves with beings of primal time and therefore with a period when strife had not become established. This identification is established in the first place by the offender's group which makes the sacrifice. It induces the offended party to participate in the feast and thereby signal its willingness, at least in principle, to suspend hostilities. The purpose of identification is therefore the expiation of offences.

In order to account for the rule that the meat is carried away by the offended party and that it is taboo to the offenders, we need to construct a second diagram, as follows:

MODEL 24



In this model the object of exchange is *ivo* which each group confers upon the other. The exchange is mediated by a pig sacrifice which, according to the Totoima myth, effectively bestows *ivo* upon the guests, *provided* that they carry the meat away with them, and also upon the hosts, *provided* that the guests remove the debilitating influence of any deleterious magic they may have directed at the hosts at an earlier time. One may say here that the purpose of

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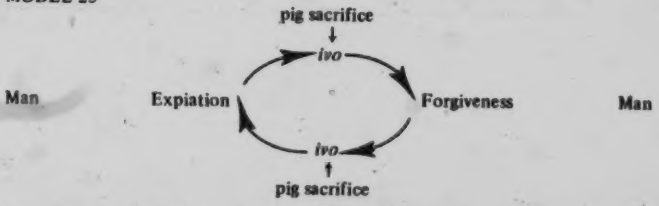
782 sacrifice is a communion, as the obtaining of *ivo* is ultimately dependent upon an effective identification of man with the power-conferring ancestors.
574 Models 23 and 24 may be reduced to a single one which shows the essence of
571 the whole transaction:
431

MODEL 25



571 This model, which is on a more abstract level than the previous two, states
778 that two parties standing in a relation of social opposition can establish or restore friendly association with one another through the *mediation* of *ivo* (the source of *ivo* being the pig sacrifices). This is the essential equation of social exchange. *Ivo* cannot be obtained by the offerers of sacrifice acting alone, but it is necessary and sufficient for efficacy if two parties participate, one in the role of offerer and another in the role of recipient. The roles of 'offender' and 'offended' are ritual roles in which the actual amount of guilt or shame felt varies widely according to circumstances. The assumption of such roles is made
[828] necessary because strife has a continuously debilitating effect on man's *ivo*. Like many other peoples (viz. Monica Wilson 1952: 99–112; 1959: 161, 165, 217; Burridge 1969), the Orokaiva believe that 'anger in the heart' weakens the man who feels it. But the Orokaiva emphasise even more the obligation of the offender to assuage that anger, however caused. Actual misfortunes are mostly explained by anger existing in someone else's heart. The guilty person is deemed to be he who, after being made aware of this anger, does nothing to remove it. If the angry person uses sorcery or does some other harm it is not he but the victim
[574] of retribution who should feel guilty. The oozing away of *ivo* as a result of strife can be reversed by the holding of pig-feasts at which the host goes through a ritual which contains elements of both communion and expiation, but which essentially serves the mediation of social exchange.

121 I shall now test the usefulness of this model by using it to account for some
128 empirical facts related to Orokaiva pig sacrifice. I shall discuss, because of the relative wealth of available material, the sacrifices made at inter-village feasts at the time of the main harvest. I shall also show how gifts made between affines may be interpreted with the help of the model.

6. *Expiation and Communion in Feasting*

574 The decision to hold a feast might arise in two ways. First, there might be an
[628] urgent need to offer the feast to a specific outside group, e.g. to make peace, or return a feast to which the group had been invited. Secondly, there might be a
[556]

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574 796 763 628 It is emphasised even more strongly by the curious symbolism of the ritual death of the feast-giver. Once the food is collected and heaped up on a platform in the village, a message is sent to the guests. This message takes the form (in Hohorita) of a report that X (the giver of the feast) has a big sickness, and that 'he died last night' or that he 'will die today' or 'will die tomorrow'. The message is made to sound realistic: 'a tree was cut and hit him on the head; he is nearly dead.' One informant told me that he was at first actually deceived by it.

The effect of the message is to oblige the guests to interrupt whatever they are doing and come at once, as they would in the case of a death. But it also has a clear symbolic significance in that it equates the feast-giver with the victims to be immolated at the feast. This notion is found in other Papuan cultures, e.g. the Kiwai, who told Landtman that men actually die shortly after they have given a feast (1927: Ch. XXIV). A feast, in any event, signifies the entrance to the world of death and the ancestors.

574 796 628 At a feast two totally different types of food distribution take place. Cooked vegetables and meat are handed to the guests by the women of the host group in front of their private houses, and raw vegetables and meat are hurled at the guests by the men standing on platforms in the public area of the village. The women serving the meal behave with the ordinary propriety of Papuan hostesses, whereas the men, though actually rather careful in apportioning the tied heaps of taro and the joints of pig meat in accordance with the prominence of each group and group leader, put on prankish, irresponsible, abandoned, even insulting acts, and start meat fights at which the blood runs over the bodies of the recipients.

[231] The pigs used to be slaughtered ceremonially, 'a number of pigs being set in a row and struck simultaneously' with a spear (Williams 1930:61). They are butchered on a platform, the joints being invariably the same as those into which the body of Totoima was cut up. The giver of the feast enacts a ritual for the first-born sons of each family, passing them under his legs and then allowing them to eat of the heart and innards of at least one pig which are placed, still dripping with blood, inside the feast house. It is stipulated that the pig from which these parts are taken has to be killed by a 'father or brother' of the first-born and that the organs have to be extracted by the killer. This ritual, performed in Hohorita in 1966, is a fairly precise re-enactment of Totoima's murder of his son. It emphasises the identification of the feast-givers with Totoima. Although this ritual does not directly involve the guests, it can be performed only in the presence of guests, a curious fact that is adequately explained by the theoretical argument I presented above (Section 5).

796 574 782 The evidence given in the last few pages indicates that Orokaiva pig sacrifice is a form of communion with primeval beings. Certainly the men, after a ceremonial preparation of several months, have reached a psychological state of identification with the ancestors at the moment of sacrifice. There are no professional sacrificers among the Orokaiva, but all the men involved in the feast have, by the ritual exercises preceding the feast, developed *rapport* with the sacred world. Prior to sacrifice, the pigs are offered up to the clan ancestor by the calling out of the clan name. The fact that they are killed (or sacrificed) at all distinguishes the feast from an ordinary economic transaction, where the pig would serve as 'payment' for some gift previously received or a service rendered.

[769] [614]

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The sacrifice undoubtedly transforms the nature of the victim, as the meat, after the analogy of the body of Totoima, is divided among all the guests, who will 'greatly multiply' by the *ivo* the meat confers after this simple sacrament.

After the sacrifice the group who offered it becomes irrevocably separated from the victim. The composition of the group to whom consumption of the sacrificed pig is forbidden is as follows: the pig's 'mother' and 'father', their siblings, their parents, their parents' siblings, and their children. Infringement of the taboo is said to lead to the death of one of the sons of the pig's 'mother'. I was told that the taboo lapses once a woman's daughters have themselves given birth to children. We may safely deduce from this last limitation of the range of the taboo that it serves to protect the woman's power of child-bearing. The taboo does not reach to the third generation: it does not include the grandparents of the pig-rearers. Nor does it include parallel or cross-cousins. These rules emphasise the position of the pig as a member of the family group. The sacrificer of a pig is identified with Totoima precisely in that both killed their own children.

The membership of host and guest groups is defined mainly by residence: one village invites another. It also occurs, in multi-clan villages, that the two groups comprise only some of the local clan groups of the host and guest village. I did not note cases of two-clan villages where this happened, but it does occur in four-clan villages such as Hohorita and Sasembata. Some close relatives of the hosts, though not resident in the host village, may decide to attend and may make a food contribution. The guest group that is invited usually matches the host group approximately in strength. If there is a wide disprepancy in numbers there is a tendency for several closely-linked villages to join together as hosts or to be invited together as guests.

Relationships between hosts and guests are cultivated on both the collective and the family level. The Orokaiva have no large houses for guests, so that each family of guests is accommodated with a family of hosts. If two villages have never feasted together partnerships are arranged at a preliminary meeting, always making allowance for previously existing relationships. Once partnerships are established they become a standing reciprocal arrangement, inherited by the children of the original partners. A good part of the planning of a feast consists of amassing suitable gifts to be made to one's visiting partner. It is he who must, above all, be impressed by his host and overwhelmed with generosity. On the collective level, guests are expected to dance for their hosts and to carry out rain-making and crop-promoting rituals.

When I asked why the help of guest sorcerers was necessary to ensure increase of the food supply, I was told that if taro grows poorly in a garden it is assumed that an enemy is using *puripuri* (a form of magic) against this garden, thus stopping the taro from flourishing. When a whole village has poor results, it is believed that someone has used medicine against *all* the gardens. According to this reasoning, the task of the friendly magicians at a feast is to remove their own previous black magic from the gardens. As shown in previous chapters, the assumption is always that parties meeting at a feast have been living in something like imperfect harmony. This implies that there may have been sorcery.

The harvest feast is, therefore, an occasion when the community acts as a corporate group to meet a magical danger which transcends the individual. A

474 241 worked for eight. This became an important basis for resentment and discontent among the workers.

The arrival of Rev. Clint in 1948 ushered in a period of dynamic growth in the co-operative movement in the district. He 474 241 had a deep interest in co-operatives, and had been associated in Australia with the Christian Socialist Movement. He was 177 797 specifically recruited by the mission to organize agricultural co-operatives and within three weeks of his arrival he had held meetings with the members of three of the co-operatives and had discussed future development with the District Agricultural [657] Officer, Mr Cockshott. In mid-May he commenced a weekly co- [191] operatives instruction class covering co-operative leadership, history of co-operatives, basic techniques, book-keeping and English.

[782] Rev. Clint was insistent that Christian ritual be associated with co-operative action. Educational and committee meetings always closed with a special prayer, there were church services at which tools were blessed and newly planted seed was blessed [795] in the gardens. This aspect of the co-operative movement was [178] regarded with some apprehension by Administration officers who felt that it could be misunderstood by the Papuans and possibly lead to the development of a cargo cult. There was some evidence to suggest that a cult did in fact begin. Money was collected surreptitiously (its disposal was never explained), and in the opinions of some observers there was a belief among some participants that the mere formation of co-operatives and the routine performance of the work required would magically raise the Papuans in a short time to the status of Europeans. On the other hand, there was evidence to support the view that the people in their desire to improve their economic position saw co-operatives as the channel and adopted the idea wholeheartedly. There is something of both these views in the statement of the ex-chairman, who said: 'We wanted to be like other civilized countries and earn money by working together.'

In November 1948 there were 25 acres under dry rice at Gona No.1, and 10 acres under taro, 6 acres of rice and one acre of peanuts at Gona No.2. Similar areas were under crop at the other co-operatives. The first harvest in early 1949 appears to have been a success. On his return from leave in March 1949, Rev. Benson spoke of 'barns and storehouses bursting with rice, people happily busy...true comradeship and Christian co-operation'.

474 241 657 In August 1949 the first four co-operatives in the Territory were registered.[1] They were, in order: Yega, Gona, Garara and

[1] This registration was made under the terms of draft legislation. It was not confirmed by the Registrar of Co-operatives under the finally approved legislation, the Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950.

796 The same pattern is found in the dancing which occurs nightly
177 before a major feast is held or before certain initiatory rites (like
the kere) are concluded. These are now referred to as "practise,"
[535] even though they are undoubtedly ritual acts in their own right. It
is also significant that the Orokaiva seasonal rites have been fitted
in as part of the Christmas and Easter observances, apparently as an
exotic appanedage, but in fact as a means of preserving traditional
religious obligations, even though in a changed form.

659 The same service of two masters is sometimes seen in the secular
sphere. People built lavatories, on official instructions, long before
[514] they dared to use them (for fear of sorcery). At Kendata, an hour's
[754] walk from Sivepa, I saw a village with new houses, built on the govern-
ment's instructions, but I was told nobody lived there except when
[361] there was a visit from the patrol officer. There are many such villages
in the Managalasi district. Here, government instructions are being
complied with but customary patterns have persisted. In Sivepa, not
very much show needed to be put on for the patrol officer. The place
was cleaned before he arrived, of course, but not significantly more
so than happened every week.

123 It is true that certain things were concealed from me in Sivepa,
but these fell largely into some simple and reasonable categories:
secrets known only to initiated men, secrets known only to members
of a family or of the Seho clan. It was not a practise of the people
to pretend to adhere to a custom they had abandoned or to pretend to
881 have abandoned what they were still practising. In the early days of
our stay, this did happen; it took some months before we discovered
that girls were secluded upon their first menstruation and then ceremoni-
ally exhibited. We were told this custom no longer existed. But then,
we had referred to the custom with reference to what Williams said
about it; and in that form, perhaps, it was not or no longer practised
[841] in Sivepa. Later, I was told that if the ceremony was not performed
[783] girls could not control their menses; there would be no way of stemming
the flow of blood and everything would be polluted. Thus, the ritual
has persisted. Whether full-grown girls, completely naked, are carried
through villages at the present time I very much doubt (vis Williams,
1930: 207). I was told that these customs lasted until the second
534 world war and then were abandoned. But I found the word "abandoned"
always a dangerous one; the calling down of spirits with bullroarers
● 782 in preparation for a feast (viz. Williams) was also, according to
Sivepa informants, an "abandoned" custom; yet it happened in both
178 Inonda and Urarituru (a mile from Sasembata mission station) in 1967.
It was true that it had not been done in Sivepa for some time--not
since the middle fifties--and that there was no immediate intention
of doing it again. On the other hand, Sivepa knew the use of bull-
roarers as a means of calling down spirits which would then be
present at a feast and give this feast magical potency. For the time
being, Sivepa people evidently feel that this procedure is unnecessary
for the achievement of their immediate ends but it is still part of the
store of available possibilities should a need appear to arise.